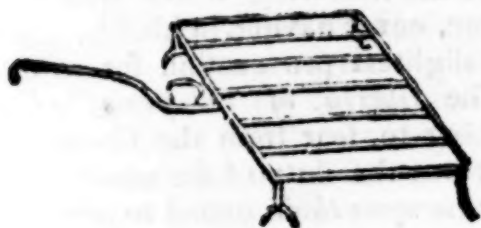


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PROGRESS IN THE NORTH.

Hexham, 1. Oct., 1832.

I LEFT Morpeth this morning pretty early in a post-chaise, to come to this town, which lies on the banks of the TYNE, at thirty-four miles distant from MORPETH, and at twenty distant from Newcastle. MORPETH is a great market-town, for cattle especially. It is a solid old town; but it has the disgrace of seeing an enormous new jail rising up in it. From cathedrals and monasteries we are come to be proud of our jails, which are built in the grandest style, and seemingly as if to imitate the Gothic architecture. At MORPETH my friend supplied me with plenty of peaches, along with every other good thing to eat and drink; and along with that, which was much more valuable than all these put together, his most sensible conversation. He showed me some of my corn, very nearly ripe, and as fine as any that I ever saw in my life.

From MORPETH to within about four miles of HEXHAM, the land is but very indifferent; the farms of an enormous extent. I saw in one place more than a hundred corn-stacks in one yard, each having from six to seven Surrey wagon-loads of sheaves in a stack; and not another house to be seen within a mile or two of the farm-house. There appears to be no such thing as barns, but merely a place to take in a stack at a time, and thrash it out by a machine. The country seems to be almost wholly destitute of people. Immense tracks of corn-land, but neither cottages nor churches.

There is here and there a spot of good land, just as in the deep valleys that I crossed; but, generally speaking, the country is poor; and its bleakness is proved by the almost total absence of the oak tree, of which we see scarcely one all the way from MORPETH to HEXHAM. Very few trees of any sort, except in the bottom of the warm valleys; what there are, are chiefly the ASH, which is a very hardy tree, and will live and thrive where the OAK will not grow at all, which is very curious, seeing that it comes out into leaf so late in the spring, and sheds its foliage so early in the fall. The trees, which stand next in point of hardiness, are the SYCAMORE, the BEECH, and the BIRCH, which are all seen here; but none of them fine. The ASH is the most common tree, and even it flinches upon the hills, which it never does in the SOUTH. It has generally become yellow in the leaf already; and many of the trees are now bare of leaf before any frost has made its appearance. The cattle all along here are of a coarse kind; the cows, swag-backed and badly shaped, KILOR oxen, except in the dips of good land by the sides of the bourns which I crossed. Nevertheless, even here, the fields of turnips, of both sorts, are very fine. Great pains seem to be taken in raising the crops of these turnips: they are all cultivated in rows, are kept exceedingly clean, and they are carried in as winter food for all the animals of a farm, the horses excepted.

As I approached HEXHAM, which, as the reader knows, was formerly the seat of a famous abbey, and the scene of a not less famous battle, and was, indeed, at one time, the SEE of a bishop, and which has now churches of great antiquity and cathedral-like architecture, as I approached this town, along a valley down which runs a small river that soon after empties itself into the TYNE, the land became good, the ash trees more lofty, and green as in June; the other trees proportionably large and fine, and

when I got down into the vale of HEXHAM itself, there I found the *oak tree*, certain proof of a milder atmosphere; for the *oak*, though amongst the hardest *woods*, is amongst the tenderest of plants known as natives of our country. Here everything assumes a different appearance. The TYNE, the southern and northern branches of which meet a few miles above HEXHAM, runs close by this ancient and celebrated town, all round which the ground rises gradually away towards the hills, crowned here and there with the remains of those castles which were formerly found necessary for the defence of this rich and valuable valley, which, from tip of hill to tip of hill, varies, perhaps, from four to seven miles wide, and which contains as fine corn-fields as those of Wiltshire, and fields of turnips, of both kinds, the largest, finest, and best cultivated, that my eyes ever beheld. As a proof of the goodness of the land and the mildness of the climate here, there is, in the grounds of the gentleman who had the kindness to receive and to entertain me (and that in a manner which will prevent me from ever forgetting either him or his most amiable wife); there is, standing in his ground, *about an acre of my corn*, which will ripen perfectly well; and, in the same grounds, which, together with the kitchen-garden and all the appurtenances belonging to a house, and the house itself, are laid out, arranged, and contrived, in a manner so judicious, and to me so original, as to render them objects of great interest, though, in general, I set very little value on the things which appertain merely to the enjoyments of the rich; in these same grounds (to come back again to the climate), I perceived that the rather tender evergreens not only lived but throve perfectly well, and (a criterion infallible) the *biennial stocks* stand the winter without any covering or any pains taken to shelter them; which, as every one knows, is by no means always the case, even at KENSINGTON and FULHAM.

At night I gave a lecture at an inn, at HEXHAM, in the midst of the domains of that impudent and stupid man, Mr.

BEAUMONT, who, not many days before, in what he called a speech, I suppose, made at NEWCASTLE, thought proper, as was reported in the newspapers, to utter the following words with regard to me, never having, in his life, received the slightest provocation for so doing. "The *liberty of the press* had no thing to fear from the Government. "It was the duty of the administration "to be *upon their guard to prevent extremes*. There was a crouching servility on the one hand, and an *excitement to disorganization* and to *licentiousness* on the other, which ought to be discountenanced. The company, "he believed, as much disapproved of "that *political traveller* who was "now going through the country—he "meant *Cobbett*—as they detested the "servile effusions of the Tories." BEAUMONT, in addition to his native stupidity and imbecility, might have been drunk when he said this, but the servile wretch who published it was not drunk; and, at any rate, BEAUMONT was my mark, it not being my custom to snap at the stick, but at the cowardly hand that wields it.

It is my fashion, to meet, if I can, every assailant upon his own dunghill. BEAUMONT knew I was to be at HEXHAM; that is his dunghill; but he took very good care not to be seen in the neighbourhood at the time; though, which is curious enough, the dirty fellow made his appearance there when he found I was gone off to NEWCASTLE. Such a wretch, such a truly contemptible fellow, cannot be an object of what is properly called *vengeance* with any man who is worth a straw; but, I say, with SWIFT, "If a *flea* or a *bug* bite me, I will kill it if I can;" and, acting upon that principle, I, being at HEXHAM, put my foot upon this contemptible creeping thing, who is offering himself as a candidate for the southern division of the county, being so eminently fitted to be a maker of the laws!

The newspapers have told the whole country that Mr. JOHN RIDLEY, who is a tradesman at HEXHAM, and occupies some land close by, has made a stand against the demand for tithes; and that

the tithe-owner recently broke open, in the night, the gate of his field, and carried away what he deemed to be the tithe; that Mr. RIDLEY applied to the magistrates, who could only refer him to a court of law to recover damages for the trespass. When I arrived at HEXHAM, I found this to be the case. I further found that BEAUMONT, that impudent, silly and slanderous BEAUMONT, is the *lay-owner* of the tithes in and round about HEXHAM; he being, in a right line, doubtless, the heir or successor of the abbot and monks of the Abbey of HEXHAM; or, the heir of the donor, EGFRID, *king of Northumberland*. I found that BEAUMONT had leased out his tithes to *middle men*, as is the laudable custom with the pious bishops and clergy of the law-church in Ireland. Finding all this, I, after some introductory matter, made my lecture consist of a *dissertation on tithes*; and, I think, I proved to the entire satisfaction of the people of HEXHAM, that all tithes were public property; that it would be the duty of the reformed Parliament completely to abolish them both in England and in Ireland; and that, in no respect whatsoever did the claim of the lay-impropriator differ from that of the clergy themselves. How it would have delighted BEAUMONT to have seen himself placed in the same boat, cheek-by-jowl, with all the crowds of fat rectors and vicars! How wise he would have looked; and how still more zealous he would have been to prevent "licentiousness in the press;" and how still more necessary he would have found it to express his "disapprobation of the political traveller, Cobbett!"

North Shields, 2. Oct., 1832,

Yesterday morning I came from HEXHAM to NEWCASTLE; from NEWCASTLE to SOUTH SHIELDS (where I have lectured this evening); and now I am here with an intention to lecture here to-morrow night. From HEXHAM to NEWCASTLE I came down in a post-chaise, on the south-side of the TYNE, along a valley which is as fine a corn country as any that is to be seen in any parts of the banks of the THAMES above London-

bridge; and I have seen that valley from the source of the THAMES to London-bridge. At its northern source I saw it but a mere gutter; and its other source (the ISIS) I rode across (not more than four yards over), the water not reaching up to the belly of my horse. These sides of the TYNE are very fine: corn-fields, woods, pastures, villages; a church every four miles, or thereabouts; cows and sheep beautiful; oak trees, though none very large; and, in short, a fertile and beautiful country, wanting only the gardens and the vine-covered cottages that so beautify the counties in the South and the West. All the buildings are of stone. Here are coal-works and rail-ways every now and then. The working people seem to be very well off; their dwellings solid and clean, and their furniture good; but the little gardens and orchards are wanting. The farms are all large; and the people who work on them either live in the farm-house, or in buildings appertaining to the farm-house; and they are all well fed, and have no temptation to acts like those which sprang up out of the ill-treatment of the labourers in the SOUTH. Besides, the mere country people are so few in number, the state of society is altogether so different, that a man who has lived here all his lifetime, can form no judgment at all with regard to the situation, the wants, and the treatment of the working people in the counties of the SOUTH.

They have begun to make a rail-way from CARLISLE to NEWCASTLE; and I saw them at work at it as I came along. There are great *lead-mines* not far from HEXHAM; and I saw a great number of little one-horse carts bringing down the *pigs of lead* to the point where the TYNE becomes navigable to NEWCASTLE; and sometimes I saw loads of these *pigs* lying by the road-side, as you see parcels of timber lying in Kent and Sussex, and other timber counties. No fear of their being stolen: their weight is their security, together with their value compared with that of the labour of carrying. Hearing that BEAUMONT was, somehow or other, connected with this lead-work, I had got it into my

head that he was a pig of lead himself, and half expected to meet with him amongst these groups of his fellow-creatures; but, upon inquiry, I found that some of the lead-mines *belonged to him*; descending, probably, in that same right line in *which the tithes descended to him*; and, as the *Bishop of Durham* is said to be the owner of great lead-mines, BEAUMONT and the bishop may possibly be in the *same boat* with regard to the subterranean estate as well as that upon the surface; and, if this should be the case, it will, I verily believe, require all the piety of the bishop, and all the wisdom of BEAUMONT, to keep the boat above water for another five years.

As I approached NEWCASTLE, the collieries, the rail-roads, the citizens' country boxes, the smoke, the bustle, and all the London-like appearance again met my eye. But, judge of my surprise when I saw a HAMMERSMITH-BRIDGE swinging upon chains, and with just such a lodge for the toll-man to live in; and with everything as much like the WEN as a young ape is like an old one! Over it I went, looking at the tide below, and seeing the boats push about, as I have so often done, going from KENSINGTON to BARN-ELM and back again. This NEWCASTLE is really and truly the London of the NORTH: it has all the solidity of the city of London; all its appearances of industry and of real wealth; all its prospects of permanency; and, there is only this difference in the people, that, at NEWCASTLE they are all of one *breed*, and of one stamp; whereas London is inhabited by persons from every part of the kingdom, not omitting a considerable number from the *sister kingdom*! As to which has the *best* population, I am naturally shy about delivering a very decided opinion; but this I will say, that a *better* race than that at NEWCASTLE and its vicinity, I am quite satisfied that there is not upon this earth. Here you find all the good qualities, public and private; and, which is a great thing to say, you find them in every class.

North Shields, 3. Oct., 1832.

I lectured at SOUTH SHIELDS last evening, and here this evening. I came over the river from SOUTH SHIELDS about eleven o'clock last night, and made a very firm bargain with myself never to do the like again. This evening, after my lecture was over, some gentlemen presented an address to me upon the stage, before the audience, accompanied with the valuable and honourable present of the late Mr. ENEAS MACKENZIE'S HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND; a very interesting work, worthy of every library in the kingdom. I shall insert this address by-and-by; and in the meanwhile proceed with my progress in the NORTH.

From NEWCASTLE to MORPETH; from MORPETH to HEXHAM; and then all the way down the TYNE; though, everywhere such abundance of fine turnips, and, in some cases, of mangel-wurzel, you see scarcely any potatoes; a certain sign that the working people do not live like hogs. This root is raised in Northumberland and Durham, to be used merely as *garden-stuff*; and, used in that way, it is very good; the contrary of which I never thought, much less did I ever say it. It is the using of it as a *substitute* for bread and for meat, that I have deprecated it; and, when the Irish poet, Dr. DRENNEN, called it "the lazy root, and the root of misery," he gave it its true character. Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, who has travelled a great deal in *France, Germany, and Italy*, and who, though SCOTT-ELDON scratched him out of the commission of the peace, and though the sincere patriot BROUGHAM will not put him in again, is a very great and accurate observer as to these interesting matters, has assured me, that, in whatever proportion the cultivation of potatoes prevails in those countries, in that same proportion the working-people are wretched; an assurance which is fully corroborated by my son William, who is also a most competent judge, and who has had opportunities of seeing parts of France and Belgium, which Sir CHARLES may not have seen. From this degrading curse; from sitting round a dirty

board, with potatoes trundled out upon it, as the Irish do; front going to the field with cold potatoes in their bags, as the working-people of Hampshire and Wiltshire DID, but which they have not done since the appearance of certain *corruscations*, which, to spare the feelings of the "LAMBS, the BROUGHAMS, the GREYS, and the RUSSELLS," and their dirty bill-of-indictment-drawer DENMAN, I will not describe, much less will I eulogize; from this degrading curse, the county of Northumberland is yet happily free!

Sunderland, 4. Oct., 1832.

I have just been to give my farewell lecture at this place of interesting situation, great trade and bustle, long and beautiful and opulent streets; of kind and most mannerly people; and without any more *cholera morbus*, or ever having had any more *ASIATIC cholera morbus*, or anything of the kind that was contagious, than there is now in the sole of my shoe; and this, too, is the opinion of every sensible person in the town.

This morning I left NORTH SHIELDS in a post-chaise, in order to come hither through NEWCASTLE and GATESHEAD, this affording me the only opportunity that I was likely to have of seeing a plantation of Mr. ANNORER DONKIN, close in the neighbourhood of NEWCASTLE; which plantation had been made according to the method prescribed in my book, called the "WOODLANDS;" and to see which plantation I previously communicated a request to Mr. DONKIN. That gentleman received me in a manner which will want no describing to those who have had the good luck to visit NEWCASTLE. The plantation is most advantageously circumstanced to furnish proof of the excellence of my instructions as to planting. The predecessor of Mr. DONKIN also made plantations upon the same spot, and consisting precisely of the same sort of trees. The two plantations are separated from each other merely by a road going through them. Those of the predecessor have been made *six-and-twenty years*; those of

Mr. DONKIN *six years*; and, incredible as it may appear, the trees in the latter are full as lofty as those in the former; and, besides the equal loftiness, are vastly superior in point of shape, and, which is very curious, retain all their freshness at this season of the year, while the old plantations are brownish and many of the leaves falling off the trees, though the sort of trees is precisely the same. As a sort of reward for having thus contributed to this very rational source of his pleasure, Mr. DONKIN was good enough to give me an elegant copy of the fables of the celebrated BEWICK, who was at once a native of NEWCASTLE and an honour to the town, and whose books I had had from the time that my children began to look at books, until taken from me by that sort of rapine which I had to experience at the time of my memorable flight across the Atlantic, in order to secure the use of that long arm which I caused to reach them from Long Island to London.

In Mr. DONKIN's kitchen-garden (my eyes being never closed in such a scene), I saw what I had never seen before in any kitchen garden, and which it may be very useful to some of my readers to have described to them. *Wall-fruit* is, when destroyed in the spring, never destroyed by *dry-cold*; but, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, by wet-frosts, which descend always perpendicularly, and which are generally fatal if they come between the expansion of the blossom and the setting of the fruit; that is to say, if they come after the bloom is quite open, and before it has disentangled itself from the fruit. The great thing, therefore, in getting *wall-fruit*, is to keep off these frosts. The *French* make use of boards, in the neighbourhood of PARIS, projecting from the tops of the walls and supported by poles; and some persons contrive to have curtains to come over the whole tree at night and to be drawn up in the morning. Mr. DONKIN's walls have a top of stone; and this top, or cap, projects about eight inches beyond the face of the wall, which is quite sufficient to guard against the wet-frosts.

which always fall perpendicularly. This is a country of stone to be sure ; but those who can afford to build walls for the purpose of having wall-fruit, can afford to cap them in this manner : to rear the wall, plant the trees, and then to save the expense of the cap, is really something like the old proverbial absurdity, " of losing the ship for the sake of saving a pennyworth of tar."

At Mr. DONKIN'S I saw a portrait of BEWICK, which is said to be a great likeness, and which, though imagination goes a great way in such a case, really bespeaks that simplicity, accompanied with that genius, which distinguished the man. Mr. WM. ARMSTRONG was kind enough to make me a present of a copy of the last performance of this so justly celebrated man. It is entitled " WAITS FOR DEATH," exhibiting a poor old horse just about to die, and preceded by an explanatory writing, which does as much honour to the heart of BEWICK as the whole of his designs put together do to his genius. The sight of the picture, the reading of the preface to it, and the fact that it was the last effort of the man ; altogether make it difficult to prevent tears from starting from the eyes of any one not uncommonly steeled with insensibility.

From Mr. DONKIN'S I came off to SUNDERLAND, through GATESHEAD. Away to my left, down on the side of the TYNE, lay the various works for the drawing up of coals, for the making of copperas, for the making of magnesia, of Epsom salts, of soda, of soap, of glass, and of God knows what besides. Here are hills of *lime-stone*, out of which, it seems, they get the means of doing these things. Why the salts are called *Epsom salts* I always wondered, seeing that EPSOM is a pretty village in my native county of Surrey, famous for nothing that I ever heard of but the *horse-races* upon its down, where lawyers and scoundrels meet to waste time, or to gamble with money that they have got out of the taxes ; and for *county-meetings* held in the village, where gentlemen, about upon a level (generally speaking) in point of intellect, with the

horses that they ride, used to meet, in the days of " PITT and prosperity," to draw up and pass declarations against PAINE'S " RIGHTS OF MAN," and to enter into solemn pledges, to take and to pass Bank-of-England notes, at the time when the old Lady had nothing but one piece of paper to give for another. In my little book, called " PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which every man in this kingdom ought *now* to read, if he have not already read it, I have recorded the stupidity, the insolence, and baseness of these low tyrants and pretended loyal men of my native county. PITMEN ! I will not be so unjust as to put the PITMEN of Durham and Northumberland upon a level with these brutes that used to meet at EPSOM, whom, if I could properly describe, the description would make the sensible people of the NORTH scratch the word " EPSOM" out of the appellation of this article of their manufacture.

Lime is burnt here to be sent to Scotland ; and the wet sometimes gets in, sets the vessels on fire, and produces very great calamity. Like every thing else here, the lime-burning is on a scale of prodigious magnitude. You see nothing here that is pretty ; but every thing seems to be abundant in value ; and one great thing is, the working-people live well. Theirs is not a life of ease to be sure, but it is not a life of hunger. The pitmen have twenty-four shillings a week ; they live rent-free, their fuel costs them nothing, and their doctor costs them nothing. Their work is terrible, to be sure ; and, perhaps, they do not have what they ought to have ; but, at any rate, they live well, their houses are good and their furniture good ; and though they live not in a beautiful scene, they are in the scene where they were born, and their lives seem to be as good as that of the working part of mankind can reasonably expect. Almost the whole of the country hereabouts is owned by that curious thing called the *Dean and Chapter* of DURHAM. Almost the whole of SOUTH SHIELDS is theirs, granted upon leases with fines at stated periods. This Dean and Chapter are the *lords of the Lords*.

LONDONDERRY, with all his huffing and strutting, is but a tenant of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, who souse him so often with their *finer* that it is said that he has had to pay them more than a *hundred thousand pounds* within the last ten or twelve years. What will LONDONDERRY bet that he is not the *tenant of the public* before this day five years? There would be no difficulty in these cases, but on the contrary a very great convenience; because all these tenants of the Dean and Chapter might then purchase out-and-out, and make that property freehold, which they now hold by a tenure so uncertain and so capricious.

Alnwick, 7. Oct., 1832.

From SUNDERLAND I came, early in the morning of the 5th of October, once more (and I hope not for the last time) to NEWCASTLE, there to lecture on the PAPER-MONEY, which I did, in the evening. But before I proceed further, I must record something that I heard at SUNDERLAND respecting that babbling fellow TREVOR! My readers will recollect the part which this fellow acted with regard to the "liberal Whig prosecution;" they will recollect that it was he who first mentioned the thing in the House of Commons, and suggested to the wise Ministers the propriety of prosecuting me; that Lord ALTHORP and DENMAN *hummed* and *ha'd* about it; that the latter had *not read it*, and that the former would offer no opinion upon it; that TREVOR came on again, encouraged by the works of the curate of Crowhurst, and by the bloody, bloody *old Times*, whose *former editor* and *now printer*, is actually a candidate for Berkshire, supported by that unprincipled political prattler JEPHTAH MARSH, whom I will call to an account as soon as I get back to the SOUTH. My readers will further recollect that the bloody *old Times* then put forth another document as a confession of GOODMAN, made to BURRELL, TREDCROFT, and SCAWEN BAUNT, while the culprit was in *HORHAM* jail with a halter actually about his neck. My readers know the *result* of this affair; but they have yet to

learn some circumstances belonging to its progress, which circumstances are not to be stated here. They recollect, however, that from the very first I treated this TREVOR with the utmost disdain; and that at the head of the articles which I wrote about him, I put these words, "TREVOR AND POTATOES;" meaning that he hated me because I was resolved, fire or fire not, that working men should not live upon potatoes in my country. Now, mark; now, chopsticks of the SOUTH, mark the sagacity, the justice, the promptitude, and the excellent taste of these lads of the NORTH! At the last general election, which took place after the "liberal Whig prosecution" had been begun, TREVOR was a candidate for the city of DURHAM, which is about fourteen miles from this busy town of SUNDERLAND. The freemen of DURHAM are the voters in that city, and some of these freemen reside at SUNDERLAND. Therefore, this fellow (I wish to God you could see him!) went to SUNDERLAND to canvass these freemen residing there; and they pelted him out of the town; and (oh appropriate missiles!) pelted him out with the "*accursed root*," hallooing and shouting after him—"Trevor and potatoes!" Ah! stupid coxcomb! little did he imagine, when he was playing his game with ALTHORP and DENMAN, what would be the ultimate effect of that game!

Before I set off from NEWCASTLE in the morning, I went to Mr. WM. ARMSTRONG'S, to take my leave of him and of Mrs. ARMSTRONG. I then returned to Mrs. MACKENZIE'S, which had been my head quarters, and at which I had received such treatment as strangers do receive at NEWCASTLE. Thence, I took my leave of a town in which I had experienced more real pleasure, and my friends in which I had every reason to be better pleased with, than with any equal number of persons that I had ever before seen at any period of my life. To select particular persons to name, in such a case, would be useless as well as improper; when all have so much gratitude due to them from me, the whole list must be named, or I must keep

silence as to particulars. I must say the same as to NORTH SHIELDS and SUNDERLAND. I expected to meet warm and sensible friends at NEWCASTLE, and in its neighbourhood. I should have been disappointed if I had not found them: the reality, however, surpassed the expectation; and I was really glad that circumstances forced me away; for my attachment to the scene grew upon me very fast; and when I took leave of Mrs. MACKENZIE, and her obliging and excellent family, my feelings, in spite of the credit which the most brutal and mercenary villains on the face of the earth have given me for want of any feelings at all, were far different from those with which we take leave of persons and of towns whom we visit in the ordinary course of our lives. I deem myself the better for having seen NEWCASTLE and its people: in them I have found new causes for loving my country and my countrymen, and for preferring both to all other countries and all other people in the world: and, thus, for the present, I take my leave of NEWCASTLE, with additional knowledge acquired, additional friendship clinging to my heart, and additional motives to exertion for the good, the happiness, and the greatness of England.

FROM NEWCASTLE TO MORPETH (the country is what I before described it to be). From MORPETH to this place (ALNWICK), the country, generally speaking, is very poor as to land, scarcely any trees at all; the farms enormously extensive; only two churches, I think, in the whole of the twenty miles; scarcely anything worthy the name of a tree, and not one single dwelling having the appearance of a labourer's house. Here appears neither hedging nor ditching; no such thing as a sheep-fold or a hurdle to be seen; the cattle and sheep very few in number; the farm servants living in the farm-houses, and very few of them; the thrashing done by machinery and horses; a country without people. This is a pretty country to take a minister from to govern the South of England! A pretty country to take a Lord Chancellor from to prattle about *poor-laws*

and about *surplus population*! My Lord GREY has, in fact, spent his life here, and BROUGHAM has spent his life in the Inns of Court, or in the botheration of speculative books. How should either of them know anything about the eastern, southern, or western counties? I wish I had my dignitary Dr. BLACK here; I would soon make him see that he has all these number of years been talking about the bull's horns instead of his tail and his buttocks. Besides the indescribable pleasure of having seen NEWCASTLE, the SHIELDS, SUNDERLAND, DURHAM, and HEXHAM, I have now discovered the true ground of all the errors of the Scotch *feelosofers* with regard to population, and with regard to poor-laws. The two countries are as different as any two things of the same nature can possibly be; that which applies to the one does not at all apply to the other. The agricultural counties are covered all over with parish churches, and with people thinly distributed here and there. Only look at the two counties of Dorset and Durham. Dorset contains 1,005 square miles; Durham contains 1,061 square miles. Dorset has 271 *parishes*; Durham has 75 *parishes*. The population of Dorset is scattered over the whole of the county, there being no town of any magnitude in it. The population of Durham, though larger than that of Dorset, is almost all gathered together at the mouths of the TYNE, the WEAR, and the TEES. Northumberland has 1,871 square miles; and Suffolk has 1,512 square miles. Northumberland has *eighty-eight parishes*; and Suffolk has *five hundred and ten parishes*. So that here is a county one third part smaller than that of Northumberland with *six times as many villages in it*! What comparison is there to be made between states of society so essentially different? What rule is there, with regard to population and poor-laws, which can apply to both cases? And how is my Lord HOWICK born and bred up in Northumberland to know how to judge of a population suitable to Suffolk? Suffolk is a county teeming with production, as well as with people; and, how brutal must that

man be who would attempt to reduce the agricultural population of Suffolk to that of the number of Northumberland! The population of Northumberland, larger than Suffolk as it is, does not equal in total population by nearly one-third, notwithstanding that one half of its whole population have got together upon the banks of the TYNE. And are we to get rid of our people in the SOUTH, and supply the places of them by horses and machines? Why not have the people in the fertile counties of the South, where their very existence causes their food and their raiment to come? Blind and thoughtless must that man be, who imagines that all but *farms* in the South are unproductive. I much question whether, taking a strip three miles each way from the road, coming from NEWCASTLE to ALNWICK, an equal quantity of what is called *waste ground*, together with the cottages that skirt it, do not exceed such strip of ground in point of produce. Yes, the cows, pigs, geese, poultry, gardens, bees and fuel that arise from those *wastes*, far exceed, even in the capacity of sustaining people, similar breadths of ground, distributed into these large farms in the poorer parts of Northumberland. I have seen not less than ten thousand geese in one tract of common, in about six miles, going from CHOBHAM towards FARNHAM in Surrey. I believe these geese alone, raised entirely by care and by the common, to be worth more than the clear profit that can be drawn from any similar breadth of land between MORTON and ALNWICK. What folly is it to talk, then, of applying to the counties of the SOUTH, principles and rules applicable to a country like this!

To-morrow morning I start for "MODERN ATHENS"! My readers will, I dare say, perceive how much my "*antalluct*" has been improved since I crossed the TYNE. What it will get to when I shall have crossed the TWEED, God only knows. I wish very much that I could stop a day at Berwick, in order to find some "*feelosofer*" to ascertain, by some chemical process, the exact degree of the improvement of the "*antalluct*." I am afraid, how-

ever, that I shall not be able to manage this; for I must get along; beginning to feel devilishly home-sick since I have left NEWCASTLE.

They tell me, that Lord Howick, who is just married by-the-by, made a speech here the other day, during which he said, "that the Reform was "only the means to an end; and that "the end was cheap government." Good! Stand to that my Lord, and, as you are now married, pray let the country fellows and girls marry too: let us have CHEAP GOVERNMENT, and I warrant you, that there will be room for us all, and plenty for us to eat and drink: it is the drones, and not the bees, that are too numerous; it is the vermin who live upon the taxes, and not those who work to raise them, that we want to get rid of. We are keeping fifty thousand tax-eaters to breed gentlemen and ladies for the industrious and laborious to keep. These are the opinions which I promulgate; and whatever your flatterers may say to the contrary, and whatever "*feelosofical*" stuff BROUGHAM and his rabble of writers may put forth, these opinions of mine will finally prevail. I repeat my anxious wish (I would call it a *hope* if I could), that your father's resolution may be equal to his sense, and that he will do that which is demanded by the right which the people have to insist upon measures necessary to restore the greatness and happiness of the country; and, if he show a disposition to do this, I should deem myself the most criminal of all mankind, if I were to make use of any influence that I possess to render his undertaking more difficult than it naturally must be; but, if he show not that disposition, it will be my bounden duty to endeavour to drive him from the possession of power; for, be the consequences to individuals what they may, the greatness, the freedom, and the happiness of England must be restored.

NEWCASTLE CORPORATION.

THERE was an election of the mayor last week, when the freemen wanted Mr. Alderman WRIGHT to be mayor; and the aldermen wanted him not to be mayor. The day on which the charter required him to be elected was passed in a violent struggle between the parties. The next day the aldermen installed a man as mayor after the manner of our London aldermen with HUGHES HUGHES. The soldiers in the barracks were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and were once ordered out under arms in the square. The mansion-house was garrisoned by a large body of special constables and policemen; and the yeomanry cavalry were placed on permanent duty in the town. Thus, at last, it always comes to this; and to this it always *must come* in every country where soldiers are allowed to exist. Wherever soldiers are ready in the last resort, they are in fact the Government, let it go by what name it may. ALDERSON was, the newspapers told us, escorted and guarded by soldiers during the last circuit in Wales! Poh! Say no more about it. Mere names amuse nothing but fools!

I insert the following letter with particular pleasure. I am glad that the name was omitted.

Elswick Cottage, Oct. 1, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—Although I had the honour and pleasure to draw up the address to you which is printed in the *Register* of Saturday last, I find that by some strange omission my name does not appear in the list of signatures. Do me the favour to rectify the mistake by the insertion of this letter, and

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,
THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

Wm. Cobbett, Esq.

TO MR. COBBETT.

THE CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS OF
THE UNDERSIGNED INHABITANTS
OF THE BOROUGH OF TYNEMOUTH,
AND NORTH SHIELDS AND VICI-
NITY, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTH-
UMBERLAND.

AN enlightened people, bursting the bonds of ignorance and error by which they have long been shackled, can feel only sentiments of gratitude towards those who have in any way been instrumental towards their deliverance, or who have patriotically aided in the great and glorious work of regenerating their country by enlightening and informing the minds of their countrymen on subjects of the highest interest, as it regards both the happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations. Amongst this noble band of true patriots we recognise you, Sir, as supereminently distinguished alike for talents of the highest order and the most ardent zeal in your country's cause in all times of difficulty and danger: added to which (what must command the admiration of most intelligent persons), your unwearied industry and manly, uncompromising perseverance, in the maintenance and defence of just principles of civil policy, which must, so far as they are or may be adopted (and adopted they must be by a reformed Parliament), contribute greatly to the prosperity of the country. For these and all your valuable labours to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes, and also for the high gratification we received from your interesting and entertaining lecture at our theatre on Tuesday evening (25th September), be pleased to accept of our sincere and grateful thanks. And we cannot but think, that in your peregrinations through the country you must behold with delight, and must indeed feel as well as see, that though you have laboured more abundantly in the great work of reform than any of your contemporaries, you have not laboured in vain; that a rich harvest is now in view; and that your political views and principles are now recognised, not only by the humble, unsophisticated mechanic and artisan, but

also by many of the higher classes, whose prejudices you have in great part succeeded in removing. Your present labours in travelling over the more distant provinces of the North, instructing your countrymen in their civil rights and duties, must, in our opinion, be productive of the greatest public good, at this important crisis of our affairs, by disseminating the most interesting political truths, and at the same time dissipating those powerful prejudices which have prevented their general reception.

We anticipate, with a pleasing satisfaction, the period when you shall, by the discriminating good sense of a portion of your countrymen who duly appreciate your talents, be removed to a higher and more extended sphere of usefulness, and when you shall have it in your power more effectually to storm the remaining fortresses and strongholds of corruption and tyranny, both civil and ecclesiastical, when both the law and the gospel shall be administered as our ancestors intended they should, pure and unexpensive.

We congratulate you, Sir, on the passing of the Reform Bill, which you have so long laboured to accomplish. With all its imperfections (which are many) much, we are persuaded, will be gained by the extension of the suffrage, and the increased popular influence at elections, if the people be sufficiently vigilant and discriminate in their choice of proper persons to represent them in the great council of the nation. But we have at the same time deeply to regret that the old corrupt mode of electing members is still continued, and that the aristocratic despotism of wealth must still preponderate at our elections, and render nugatory, in many instances, the advantages obtained by the extension of the elective franchise. Hence we hope electors will now themselves be convinced of the necessity of the ballot, to remove every undue and corrupt bias which may be offered by a base and unprincipled aristocracy. The ballot, therefore, we hope, will be one of the pledges everywhere demanded from candidates.

That you may long live to enjoy the fruits of your labours, in the esteem, respect, and gratitude of your countrymen, and see, as a consequence, the regeneration of your country, and general happiness and prosperity prevail throughout the British dominions, is the sincere and ardent prayer of your friends and admirers, the undersigned :

John Turnbull
Thomas Mathwin
John Marshall
John Robinson
David Hume
Ralph Rogerson
Thomas Smith
Matthew Brown
Richard Lowdon
Andrew Middleton
John Kelly
Robert White
George Hill
Peter Cowey
Bartholomew Mason
Andrew Hare
Miles Raelton
David Coleman
William Small
Andrew Dun
Thomas Jackson
William Wright
Edward Charleton
Robert Richardson
Thomas Wright
Charles Smith
John Fell
James Reay
Andrew Penman
William Hare
Alexander Gray
William Iron
Peter Geldart
Joseph Lamb
Robert Thornton
Michael Gordon
Morris Neal
Edward Campel
Thomas Askew
William Brown
John Jackson
Edward Bruce
Robert Lowery
Peter Jewson
Michael Ball
William Ball
Thomas Grey
Edward Dundas
Isaac Freeman
Samuel Marr
Roger Matthews
John Grev
Robert Kirkby
Peter Watler
William Cowey
Robert Kelly

William S. Newham
Robert Pow
John Wright
Peter Johnson
John Johnson
Andrew Macpherson
Michael Davidson
William Thomson
Samuel Turner
Alexander Williams
James Shields
Andrew Davidson
George Young
William Bell
Peter Black
John Field
Andrew Smith
Thomas Williams
Ralph Morgan
George Thomson
William Jenkins
John Bell
Samuel Stevens
Michael Watson
David Southeren
Barnard Holly
Thomas Jackson
Andrew Young
James Taylor
James Thompson
George Gray
John Lawson
Henry Armstrong
John Johnson
William Gray
Peter Price
Peter Smith
John Dum
George Peters
James Blair
Thomas Sinclair
Ralph Phillips
Edward Burn
Samuel White
William Bell
Matthew Robson
George Gordon
Robert Green
Andrew Reid
William Jewson
Peter Waddle
James Beaumont
John Wentworth
John Samuals
Edward Turner
Thomas Mills

Peter Baily
 Thomas Black
 John Douglas
 Andrew Davidson
 Robert Smith
 James Ferguson
 Thomas Gordon
 John Askew
 William Gibson
 Nesbit Dunn
 John Brown
 John Wilkie
 Thomas Gilmore
 George Green
 Peter Lawbor
 John Rowe, sen.
 John Nesbit
 Michael Williamson
 Samuel Wright
 Andrew Thompson
 Joseph Hill
 Thomas Waugh
 John Ferguson
 Edward Bailey
 Peter Arrowsmith
 Robert Boag
 David Donnison
 John Elsdon
 Andrew Lewis
 Charles Gordon
 Thomas White
 Ralph Rogers
 Thomas Hill
 George Young
 Alexander Scott
 Nicholas Smiles, sen.
 Nicholas Smiles, jun.
 Thomas Wilson
 Henry Frederick
 Thomas Waugh
 Phillip Sparks
 Robert Milburn
 James Smith
 William Johnson
 Francis Ellis
 James Leslie
 Roger Ligton
 John Williams
 John Thompson
 John Burlison
 Henry Young
 Matthew Rate, jun.
 William Rate, sen.
 Samuel Anderson
 John Briggs
 Matthew Foster
 Henry Storey
 Thomas Robson
 Ralph Morton
 Christopher Hall
 Cuthbert Brown
 Frederick Lamb
 Nicholson Davison
 Matthew Hales
 Robert Phillpotts
 Thomas Nicholson
 David Arkell
 John Rogers

William Newton
 John Gellmore
 Peter Wylie
 John Anderson
 Thomas Pye
 Robert White
 Peter Black
 John Hendrick
 James Leitchfield
 Henry Maloan
 William Jackson
 Benjamin Gibson
 James Andrews
 Henry Bell
 William Heavyside
 Henry Haswell
 William Haswell
 James Stevens
 William Black
 Matthew Fenruk
 Michael Davidson
 Andrew Cass
 James Lough
 Robert Douglas
 David Steel
 John Thomas
 Thomas Thomas
 William Johnson
 John Hill
 Robert Lamb
 Peter Scott
 North Thompson
 James Smith
 Thomas Lester
 James Waugh
 John Stephens
 Mark Dobson
 John Hunter
 William Huerst
 Lambert Gray
 William Oliver
 William Hansel
 Thomas Sanderson
 Kirton Nixon
 Gideon Scott
 Thomas Robson
 John Harrison
 Henry Wate
 James Elliot
 Luke Gray
 Robert Burn, jun.
 John Ward
 Wm. Hutchinson, jun.
 Ralph Hall
 John White
 George Humble
 James Dowey
 Thomas Carr
 Robert Bell
 Hornsby Hutchinson
 John Dryden
 Thomas Morley
 Christopher Morley
 Matthew Wardle, sen.
 Matthew Wardle, jun.
 William Corbitt
 William Nesbett
 Thomas Coxen

John Sugden
 William Hall
 William Robson
 John Thompson
 Robert Reay
 William Goland
 James Sanderson
 Matthew Lish
 Ralph Akenside
 James Gordon
 John Mackey
 Robert Irvin
 Lancelot Brown
 Abraham White
 Graham Walker
 James Wilkinson
 Walter Scott
 John Chater
 John Baty
 Benjamin Parkens
 William Fairless
 John White
 Joseph Craig
 Thomas Moor
 Johnson Wile
 John Mounton
 Robert Wright
 William Downs
 John Adamson
 John Riddle
 Phillip Mainger
 Ralph Manken
 William Gilroy
 Mark Mills
 Nathaniel Parker
 John Moffet
 George Jackson
 Robert Hunter
 Joseph Hume
 Timothy Wate
 Francis Blake, sen.
 Francis Blake, jun.
 William Hescott
 Samuel Bengal
 Christopher Bengal
 George Thobourn
 Benjamin Park
 Richard Wilkinson
 John Atkins
 John Bacon Newham
 George Williamson
 Stephen Robson
 Robert Jenkins
 Alexander Jobson
 James Jacovin
 Robert Gipson
 William Alexander
 Henry Icastadle
 William Brown
 Thomas Stobs
 William Stobbs
 William Miller
 Richard Lowthian
 John M'Carthy
 John Ferguson
 Henry Wiseman
 John Jomas
 Henry Mackintosh

William Stephenson
 George Marshal
 Wilson Nicholson
 John Carr
 Temple Fleming
 Joseph Auther
 James Condly
 William Condly
 John Jackson
 John Heron
 William Liddle
 Peter Boart
 John Story
 Francis Story
 Joseph Tempson
 William Hays
 William Gibson
 James Nevison
 John Curry
 William Pinkney
 Thomas Gibson
 George Groat
 Edward Stephens
 Matthew Rutten
 Richard Eitzen
 Thomas Griffin
 John Fraizer
 Francis Dobinson
 John Edmunds
 Benjamin Funder
 Thomas Hall
 Peter Sinclair
 Robert Lee
 William Leslie
 James Lunes
 George Kirnaby
 John Lee
 John Reed
 John Oakman
 Robert Rightson
 Joseph Farinauders
 Robert Hunter
 John Driver
 William Anderson
 Thomas Marsh
 Robert Ford
 George Forman
 Thomas Belford
 John Melven
 William Robson
 Thomas Wilkins
 Thomas Frazer
 Thomas Sumner
 William Wood
 Roger Thompson
 Lancelot Gieves
 Francis Laslie
 Joseph Place
 William Bullock
 George Gordon
 James Richardson
 William Yarrow
 John Bennet
 James Gowan
 Christopher Mates
 Thomas Thompson
 Gray Brown
 William Cob

James Ferguson
Henry Wheatly
George Simpson
William Gewlock
James Boyd
Peter Scott
John Mohen
David Green
John Green
James Lawson
Hugh Robson
Peter Leg
Thomas Reed
William Johnson
John Clark
William Emvy
David Peters
Henry Thompson
William Crutchall
John North
John Gray
James Jackson
George Dixon
George Crow
William Gordon
Adam Harvey
Edward Tarnor
Ridley Robson
George Stewart
Ralph Brodie
William Toy
Henry Forsyth
Thomas King
John Gray
Thomas Dawson
William Deck
John Roc, sen.
Andrew Simpson
John Donison
Edward Dobson
Joseph Summers
Peter Potts
John Hogson
William Black
William Jackson
Thomas Haswell
Peter Hart
Robert Henderson
Thomas Banks
William Partis
Henry Gowland
Matthew Mills
James Potts
John Braddal
John Williamson
James Miller
Chris. Stephenson
Samuel Purse
William Penrose
George Stephenson
John Thompson
Jonathan Hardcastle
John Robson
William Paul
Christopher Stephen
Henry Atkinson, sen.
William Bankes
Thomas Hunter

Benjamin Dinis
William Coalchester
Tmothy Simpson
James Dixon
Henry Emmerson
James Peterson
Ralph Wise
Thomas White
David Brown
John Havorson
Joseph Hunt
George Mould
Thomas Potts
James Hogson
Ralph Brady
Joseph Black
Robert Scott
David Coventry
Thomas Scott
Robert Bowman
Gilbert Randel
Robert Shampus
Robert Cowens
William Riddle
George Vasey
Samuel Smith
Henry Anderson, jun.
William Comm
Henry Reves
Alexander Alexander
William M'Lean
Henry Fordyce
Robert Robson
Richard Hardy
John Scott
David Lawrie
John Jackson
Robert Middleton
John Roe, jun.
George Lee
William Brown
John Brady
Richard Bowtt
John Gray
David Toy
William Mather
William Barker
Robert Nicholson
Thomas Pearth
William Nicholson
Robert Boulton
Joseph Barker
Joseph Nicholson
Peter Davidson
David Turnbull
Ralph Sykes
Alexander Pegg
Peter Jackson
Andrew Simpson
Hugh Jones
John Saddler
Peter Parker
John Turnbull
John Gordon
Humphry Coxon
Matthew Marshall
Robert Scot
John Sheldon

William Chinton
William Smith
Giles Robinson
Robert Harle
Robert Forster
Ralph Crawford
John Rodom
George Robinson
William Wilson
John Errington
Ralph Wilson
Richard Wilson
Richard Errington
William Chambers
John Rodgrson
Thomas Baley
John Skipsey
John Harper
Henry Laverick
Robert Simpson
William Simpson
James Simpson
Robert Pearson
John Spurs
Thomas Lavrick
Mark Lavrick, sen
John Lavrick
William Lavrick
John Sparks
Mark Lavrick
Robert Arkley
Robert Clark
William Charlton
William Wilkinson
William Nicholson
Robert Gordon
Adam Jordon
John Cuthey
John Jordon
Henry Urwin
John Wonders
James Wonders
Henry Wonders
George Wigham
Jonathan Whetley
Anthony Atchson
James Carr
George Pearson
Edward Pearson
George Pearson
William Robinson
Jacob Featonby
James Keear
John Reavley
Thomas Bowdon
Edward Nicholson
Robert Naisbet
Robert Kinnair
William Gibson
Joseph Richerdson
Samuel Lackey
James Lackey
Thomas Turnbull
Thomas Reavley
Thomas Liddle
Matthew Cravin
John Glinding
Hewgh Williamson

William Glen
Matthew Wood
John Hails
Peter Peall
Henry Peall
John Peall
Thomas Carsell
Robert Rodgrson
Robert Errington
William Stavers
George Winter
John Winter
Robert Raisbeck
William Raisbeck
James Sanderson
Martin Middleton
George Auckland
Joseph Read
Thomas Sanderson
James English
Charles Scorrer
William Pearson
John Pearson
Thomas Russell
John Hunter
Naisbet Hunter
William Hunter
Thomas Hunter
Stephen Gray
Christopher Pearson
John Moad
Peter Dixon
Edward Lowes
William Lowes
Thomas Scorer
John Little
Richard Little
James Little
John Little, sen.
John Coale
Robert Shipley
Francis Reay
Francis Bailey
George Sanderson
James Sanderson
William Sanderson
Thomas Sanderson
Robinson Sanderson
William Wallis
Matthew Johnson
Thomas Musgrove
Charles Musgrove
Christopher Lawson
John Douglass
Joseph Douglass
William Douglass
Thomas Wilson
John Wilkinson
John Horn
William Robson
James Clennet
Robert Milburn
John Cracet
Robert Storker
Noble Hedley
Mark Sutheren
George Ditchbun
James Smith

James Young
 Thomas Carr
 Alexander Carr
 John Engleby
 James Emrey
 Adam Emrey
 Luke Gray
 William Pendley
 William Vardy
 Robert Liddle
 John Bulmer
 John Wild
 John Wild, sen.
 Anthony Wandless
 Alex. Wandless, jun.
 Alex. Wandless, sen.
 William Pendley, sen.
 Thomas Wouders
 John Waddle
 Samuel Birley
 Lancey Dobson
 Henry Dobson
 Toshe Taler
 Henry Gray
 William Peall
 William Turnbull
 D. Hornsby, jun.
 John Elliot
 Patrick Jones
 Thomas Gallon
 Andrew Nelson
 Peter Thompston
 Ralph Stephens
 Robert Dixon
 Ralph Hornsby
 Thomas Thompson
 A. Thomas Stafford
 Thomas Rea
 David Rea
 Thomas Thompson
 James Stafford
 Thomas Hornsby
 John Charlton
 Wallion Turner
 Funelot Bornon
 George Venus
 Robert Punshon
 John Turner
 Philip Laing
 Andrew Stafford
 Robert Allan
 John Alan
 John Scott
 James Hunter
 Andrew Jones
 John Hogarth
 John Thoburn
 Peter Allon
 William Hornbey
 John Baxter, jun.
 William Fleck
 William Gordon, sen.
 David Stull
 William Henderson
 John Woodcock
 Sephen Lamb
 Edward Spence
 John Hogg

Thomas Giloghtley
 Thomas Spencer
 Luke Reay
 John Reay
 George Knox
 Robert Holoday
 Luke Elliott
 William Bell
 William Simpson, sen.
 John Wright
 George Charlton
 George Riddley
 John Telford
 Richard Jobson
 Nicholas Catley
 Henry Snawdon
 Thomas Heplewhite
 Robert Heddley
 John Young
 John Barras
 Joshua Marchet
 Robert Swinburn
 Charles Clemison
 Robert Oswell
 Robert Whaton
 Thomas Woodhouse
 Thomas Hornsby
 Thomas Dawson
 Stabbs Newham
 James Maclean
 John Miller
 Matthew Robson, jun.
 Waton Thompson
 George Thompson
 David Vardy
 John Darley, sen.
 Joseph Pain
 Jones Laughton
 Matthew Robson, sen.
 Samuel Wilson
 Henry Mills
 Matthew Robson
 Samuel Goldberg
 Thomas Graham
 John Oliver
 John Johnson
 William Ferguson
 Thomas Oalson
 William Sutherland
 William Fleck
 Ralph Mankin
 John Morley
 John Ferguson
 John Macardy
 Daniel Lee
 William Hill
 Robert Brown
 Henry Morden
 John Hanwar
 John Peacock
 Thomas Lilburn, sen.
 Daniel Davison
 Thomas Lumpson
 Abraham Webb
 Alexander Thompson
 George Aynsley
 Robert Robson
 John Walker

Thomas Lilburn, jun.
 Ralph Stafford
 Thomas Stephens
 George Rea
 James Armstrong
 Peter Forest
 William Hill
 Andrew Old
 Thoams Hornsby
 John Hill
 William Wright
 Thomas Jackson
 John Faconer
 William Oliver
 Ralph Hornsby
 John Hornsby
 Daniel Gallon
 John King
 Peter Forst
 Thomas Pigg
 Henry Davidson
 Patrick Allon, Esq.
 W. D. Walker
 D. Hill
 J. C. Drury
 John Jarvis
 William Stanford
 George Nuter
 John Gregson
 Thomas Heron
 Thomas Mayor
 John Roger
 Fixast Thompson
 James Hindshaw
 John Macone
 William Houston
 George Mackenzie
 William Truck
 Tober Gregson
 John Hargrave
 William Philpson
 John Procter
 John Vash
 William Dacre Wright.

NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION

ADDRESS TO EARL GREY;

*Agreed and passed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
 on Wednesday, October 3, 1832.*

MY LORD,

1. We, the undersigned associates and friends of the Northern Political Union, hasten to present to your Lordship an address of congratulation on the passing of the Reform Bill; in doing this, it is our intention to couple duty with pleasure, and not only to express the gratitude we think due to your Lordship, but also to lay before you a plain and explicit statement of those beneficial results which the country expects, as the consequence of that great measure of public justice. While we avow our readiness to do justice to your Lordship's character; to acknowledge the ability with which your Lordship has advocated the cause of the people; to rejoice that Providence has permitted you to realize in age the projects of your youth, and carry to a successful issue, as minister of the crown, that reform, to advance which your Lordship originally pursued the same course which we, guided by your illustrious example, are now pursuing, viz. combining ourselves into political associations, like that of "the Society of Friends of the People," of which your

Lordship was a distinguished member ; while we acknowledge your capacity and ability to serve and save your country, still we deem it our duty to state frankly, that your Lordship has not yet fulfilled the expectations of England. Till those expectations are fulfilled we cannot use the language of unqualified panegyric. In the midst of bankruptcy and ruin, of complaints at home and insults abroad, while the country is resounding with the cries and supplications of famishing artisans and starving labourers, we cannot insult the misery of the public, by chaunting the praises of a minister.

2. Forty years, my Lord, have rolled away, since your Lordship presented that celebrated petition, in which you offered to prove at the bar of the House of Commons, that a majority of its members were returned by aristocratic influence, and in which you prayed for a redress of this scandalous usurpation of the privileges and rights of the people. Your petition was spurned, your remonstrances were despised. Had the representation of the people then been purified, the reform of abuses would have been a task comparatively easy : but now, when forty years of misrule, extravagance, insolence, and false policy have elapsed, and abuses have acquired a magnitude so gigantic, and a ramification so extensive, as to be interwoven with every institution of the state, the task of their reform has become Herculean indeed. Difficult, my Lord, will be the task to separate our institutions in their purity from the corrupt mass which environs them ; difficult will be the task to amputate the rotten branches, without touching the life of the tree.

3. That reform so long delayed, and so sternly and steadily refused, has at length been, with reluctance, conceded to the urgent demands of an oppressed and exasperated people ; but it has come in a form by no means satisfactory to their wishes, nor commensurate to their hopes. In it they cannot but behold that instinctive dread of the people, which the aristocracy of this country has so long evinced. We be-

hold the elective franchise, a right which the people regard as of the most sacred and important character, crippled and confined within limits of a narrow description. We behold in the division of counties a new field opened for the exercise of aristocratic influence and tyranny, by no means less pernicious than that of the boroughmongers which it has destroyed. We behold also a disregard of the true interests of the people in the retention of the monied qualification for members of Parliament, a qualification which tends to keep alive in the breasts of the people, that higher regard for riches than for wisdom or for virtue, to which the vulgar are but naturally too prone, and to make poverty, which is often the concomitant of both, a subject of vulgar reproach and insolent contempt. The circumscription of the franchise, the division of counties, and the high monied qualification requisite in the candidate for parliamentary honours, still continue to give an aristocratic character and complexion to the House of Commons, which the people cannot but consider dangerous to their rights, and hostile to their interests. In addition to these grounds of complaint, we have also to lament that the shield of the ballot has not been thrown over the dependant voter, that the sycophancy and the tyranny of the canvass have not been abolished, and lastly, that the duration of Parliaments has not been shortened. The control of the constituent over the representative body is almost destroyed by the present long duration of Parliament ; and we can regard the Septennial Act in no other light than an act to release the house from its dependance on, and responsibility to, the people, from whom its members derive their powers, and whose interests they were delegated to protect and advance. We had hoped that the spirit of aristocratic and unconstitutional domination, that the overbearing arrogance of wealth, and that the insolent ambition of rank, so impatient of control, would have been effectually curbed by the provisions of the bill which the people have been led to

regard as the charter of their rights and liberties.

4. Imperfect, however, as the Bill of Reform is, we regard it as the means of effecting reforms of still greater magnitude and importance, and we now proceed to point your Lordship's attention to those results, of which the people hail your bill as the harbinger. Upon those results the expectation of the public, roused to a pitch which it would be dangerous to disappoint, is intently fixed; and as disappointment of that public expectation would be fatal to the reputation of your Lordship, and what is of infinitely more importance, fatal to the tranquillity of the country,—for, my Lord, it is the anticipation of these benefits that makes them patient under the endurance of evils which nothing but the prospect of speedy relief could render endurable,—we deem it our solemn and indispensable duty to put your Lordship in possession of those great truths, which it imports your government to know, if it be their intention to rule and legislate in harmony with the feelings, the wishes, and the interests of the people. Should your lordship and your Lordship's government neglect the warning, the error of your policy will be your own, and we, at least, shall be absolved from all share in the tremendous responsibility of the men in whose hands the English constitution, that has withstood the shock of ages, and hitherto bid defiance to popular commotion, shall dissolve.

5. The great evil, the grand oppression, is the debt. The crown and the aristocracy have loaded this country for their own benefit, and to the deep and lasting injury of the people, out of whose and whose children's labours it is to be paid, with a debt of 800,000,000*l*. That debt was contracted in prosecution of a system of scandalous misrule, sanctioned by the House of Commons under an infamously perverted system of parliamentary representation. That debt, which was borrowed in paper greatly depreciated in value, the people have been bound by a recent act of Parliament, in defiance of all equity and justice, to pay in standard gold. Though

justice pointed out the necessity of reducing the debt from its nominal and excessive value in depreciated paper to its true value in standard gold, a parliament of unprincipled and ignorant legislators, under the auspices of the still more ignorant Peel, passed a decree, which has ever since made the country one scene of bankruptcy and of ruin, and inflicted mischief which can never be repaired by the restoration of a metallic currency, without a previous reduction of taxation and an equitable adjustment of debts and contracts, both public and private. That unjust, that mischievous, that ruinous act of Parliament, has covered the whole country with pauperism as with a leprosy. It has ruined the farmer; it has destroyed the manufacturer; it has made our merchants bankrupt; and reduced the free, bold, hardy, and laborious peasantry of England, from a state of comfort and independence, to beggary and starvation.

6. Seventeen years have elapsed since the termination of the most sanguinary and expensive war recorded in the history of nations; yet in consequence of this misery-creating and misery-dispensing bill of Peel's, the people have not only no mitigation of the rigour of war taxation, but by the operation of that very bill these taxes have actually been augmented. Nominally our annual taxes have been reduced from seventy to fifty-nine millions, but their intrinsic value has been doubled by this act of the collective wisdom of the nation. Hence peace has neither brought plenty nor repose, but in the midst of their burdens the people look back to the period of war as being less oppressive to them than the present disastrous period of peace.

7. But let us turn from the contemplation of our domestic misery to the state of our foreign relations. So completely has the debt crippled our resources, that England, the proud, imperious England, the queen of nations and haughty mistress of the sea, has become the humblest, the most suppliant of them all. In the words of a great writer, the debt says to the king of England,

"Thou shalt not go to war;" or, in the words of your own colleague, the Lord Chancellor, "The people of England are bound in a recognizance of "800,000,000*l.* to keep the peace." Not only are we disabled from war; not only are we afraid of war; but we are disgraced throughout Europe by the notoriety of our fear of war. We have beheld Spain invaded and occupied by the French; we have beheld Algiers conquered and colonized; we have seen the Russians thundering at the very gates of Constantinople; and the treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed the independence of Poland, trampled under foot; yet England has not dared to stir one inch. None so poor among the nations as to do us homage. Nay, to such a state of humiliation and subjection have we been reduced, that we have been forced to surrender, by millions, our hard-earned gold, under the most liberal construction of our treaties, to the hateful Muscovite, as a bribe for peace!!! Such is the state to which the aristocracy of England have reduced the proudest of nations!

8. In addition to the large and intolerable amount of annual taxation which the debt borrowed by the aristocracy has entailed upon the people of England, there are other taxes which we are compelled to endure, and some of which are peculiarly odious and detestable. The severity of taxation has been productive of a poverty which is hardly relieved by an additional taxation in the shape of a poor-rate amounting to 8,000,000*l.* annually; a sum larger in amount than the revenue of England during the reign of Queen Anne. In ancient times when the people were treated by their government with more lenity and justice, the church was obliged to maintain the poor, and for this purpose more particularly it was endowed with a splendid and princely revenue. Those revenues still exist, but they are diverted from that original purpose of beneficence to the aggrandizement of the younger and unprovided-for branches of the aristocracy. Yes, my Lord, the peerage and aristocracy of England are enriched by the plunder

and confiscation of the patrimony of the poor. In this country, (which, availing itself of the great privilege of Protestantism, is proud of the right of private judgment, and rejects the dogmas of creeds and churches, and is crowded with Dissenters and with Catholics,) the whole body of the people are doomed to the support of a church whose adherents, compared with the whole mass of the population, are but few in number, if we count as adherents those only who believe in its doctrine and approve of its discipline. No tax can be more monstrous, more unjust, more impolitic, than that which obliges any portion of the people to support in splendour and luxury the priests of a religion which they conscientiously reject. The whole country expects from the wisdom of a reformed Parliament the utter abolition of the tithe tax, which is not only a tax upon agricultural improvement, but an infringement of liberty of conscience. The tithes, which were originally given for the support of the church and the poor, exist now only for the benefit of the clergy and lay-impropriators, whilst the people, in addition to the clergy, have not only to maintain the poor but to repair the churches, which is effected by the imposition upon them of a church-rate which is nearly equal to one half of the county-rate of England!

9. Odious! justly odious, as the tithe tax may be in England, with what feelings of exasperated hatred and indignation must that tax be paid to a Protestant clergy by the Catholic people of Ireland. In the Irish church we can only see exemplified a system of practical blasphemy, beyond any exhibition of hypocrisy ever yet enacted in the face of the world. We see churches without congregations; a priesthood without a laity; and parish after parish merged into one great spiritual desert, for the sake of those carnal ravens who feast in the wilderness and roost in the ruins of its temples. We have heard many of the anathemas thundered out against false and cruel religions; we have been told of the idol of Jugger-naut, of the obscenity of its rites, and of

the hundreds crushed to death under the wheels of its car. This may be true, my Lord, but when we talk of obscenity, we should remember that the husband or son or brother of many an English nobleman's * * * * * has been known to become an Irish clerical dignitary; and, when we talk of blood, we should recollect that, in the collection of Irish tithe, since the year 1802, thirty-six thousand men at least have lost their lives, without the miserable excuse even of the bloody fanaticism of a false but still predominant religion.

10. We deeply regret that in order to enforce the collection of this detestable impost you should have so far deserted the principles of justice and true policy, as to have pursued towards the Irish people a system of coercion. We behold with a feeling widely distant from indifference the dispersion of public meetings in Ireland, the persecution of the press, and the arrest of public characters. We know these principles of government may be extended from Ireland to England, and the establishment of slavery in that country would make us tremble for the existence of liberty in this. My Lord, we admire the legal resistance of the Irish people to this ecclesiastical extortion: not regarding it as the effect of combination—but as the effect of common principle producing a simultaneous and concurrent action in every individual for the common deliverance of all. We commiserate their condition; we sympathize in their sentiments, and pray with fervour that justice may be done them. In addition to these evils there is another, arising from the desire entertained by the aristocracy and landed interest of the country to sustain the tithes and high rents, we mean the tax upon the importation of foreign corn. This is a tax of a dreadful description—a tax to enable high rents to be paid to the aristocracy and high tithes to the church. As if the other burdens of the country were not enough, the amount of rent and tithe is to be enhanced by a system of artificial starvation; and while cheap subsistence is thus snatched from the mouths of the people, distress is still further in-

creased by this cruel damming up and closure of a mighty vent for our manufactures, which, were a free and regular trade allowed, would be exported in payment for the foreign grain imported; whilst in times of scarcity and famine, when the ports are opened for a time, a dangerous export of gold is sometimes occasioned by the necessity of sending it to effect the payment for the corn so introduced. It is, for the benefit of the aristocracy and of the church, and not for the benefit of the farmer, that the latter is allowed a monopoly of the English market by the exclusion of the foreigner. If the taxes were reduced, if rents were diminished, and tithes abolished, corn laws would not be necessary. Are not, my Lord, the taxes paid to the Government; are not the rates paid to the overseer; are not the rents paid to the landlord; are not the tithes paid to the church, sufficiently oppressive, without imposing the additional oppression of a tax upon the bread which the people eat? We believe, my Lord, that by the operation of this law, this law of cruelty and injustice, that the landed interest have become pensioners on the country to the extent of near one half of the total rental of the kingdom. It is time, my Lord, that enormities like this were done away.

11. That these evils cannot much longer be endured is the universal conviction of the people of England. From conviction springs resolve. To your, my Lord, and the wisdom of a reformed Parliament, they look for the redress of their grievances. Their first appeal, my Lord, is to the justice of the legislature: their second, if that fail, will be to their own public virtue. That the country is in a state of unparalleled distress is acknowledged: have you, my Lord, no remedy? The nation, weighed down to the earth by the insufferable load of imposts and exactions, must be relieved, or it must of necessity relieve itself by some convulsion or financial crisis. The modes of relief suggested are various, to diminish the public burdens: some call for a depreciation of the currency by an unlimited issue of paper not convertible into gold; others call

for a reduction of the standard to the value of that depreciated currency in which the greatest portion of the debt was borrowed; others call, with the people of Norfolk in their celebrated petition, for a reduction of the salaries of all persons in the pay of the public, for the abolition of all pensions not fully merited by well-known services to the public; for the abolition of all grants and sinecures; for the reduction of the interest of the national debt; for the disbanding of the army; for a reduction of the dead weight so as to take away all allowances except in the case of wounds or very long service, or other circumstances justly demanding an appeal to the bounty of the nation; for an equitable adjustment of all contracts; for the sale of all lands belonging to the crown and to the church and to corporations, and a repeal of all taxes on articles of general consumption, on malt, on hops, and soap. We, my Lord, suggest no remedy, but leave the suggestion to Government and the wisdom of a reformed Parliament, reserving to ourselves the right of applauding the wisdom or condemning the folly of the measures, that will no doubt be speedily suggested for the relief of the acknowledged public distress.

12. The time has now arrived, my Lord, when some great experiment must be tried. The nation cannot long continue to go on in the deplorable state of debility and suffering and exhaustion to which the triply accursed loan and funding system has reduced it; that system which was strength in the beginning but is weakness in the end. It is now clear to every man, who understands the financial situation of the country, that a foreign war, an insurrection in the colonies, or a convulsion in Ireland, a catastrophe which the policy of your Lordship's government in Ireland seems precipitating, must inevitably shake the present frame of government to pieces; nay, so completely has that wretched, contemptible and wicked system under which we groan turned against itself, that it is now evident that the Government is completely in the power even

of the humble creditors of the savings banks, who, by selling out the fifteen millions therein deposited and turning them into gold, might, in one week and without the commission of a single illegal act, produce a financial revolution and explode at once the entire fabric of national credit. The abstraction of only 2,000,000*l.* destroyed the Duke of Wellington; the abstraction of 15,000,000*l.* would destroy the system.

13. Such, my Lord, is the perilous the shocking condition of the country. We call upon you, we implore you to alter that condition. We have, in the spirit of sincerity, and in the language of truth, laid before you, the wants, the wishes, the expectations of the people of these realms. May God grant you the wisdom and the courage to act as becomes a great minister in a great crisis and to save your country, and saved it only can be by wisdom and energy from impending confusion and revolution.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER III.

GENTLEMEN,—A London print, which is what is called a ministerial newspaper, and which I, in the discharge of my duty as a public writer, am compelled to read, but which, for the sake of your morals, I hope none of you ever see, has most harshly spoken of that part of our paper-money, which is issued by the bankers, whose shops are in the country. The writer of this print has described that paper, namely, the country bank-notes, as "*destructive assignats*;" and, in another of his publications, he calls them "*vile rags*;" and then again "*dirty rags*." These hard words, besides that they are unbecoming in sober discussion, can do no good, and may do a great deal of harm, if they have any effect at all upon the minds of the people; and, therefore, we will make a remark or two upon their tendency, before we proceed with the topic mentioned at the close of the last letter.

Assignats was the name given to the

French revolutionary paper-money, the distresses occasioned by which are fresh in the recollection of most people; and, to give the same name to our country bank-notes, was, therefore, to proclaim as far as this writer was able to proclaim, that these notes *being more than one-half of all our circulating medium*, were as bad, if not worse, than the paper-money of France, which produced so much individual misery to so many millions of people. Not that this was betraying any *secret* to the world; for it is beyond all comprehension foolish to suppose, that all the world, particularly our sharp-sighted enemy, are not fully acquainted with our situation in this respect, more especially now that the bullion report is abroad; but what I find fault with, is, that this description of country bank-notes, as contradistinguished from the London bank-notes, has a tendency to excite popular hatred, and in cases that may happen, popular violence, against that part of our paper-money makers, called country bankers; than which nothing can be much more unjust in itself, or be more likely to lead to universal confusion, the experience of the world having proved that commotion, when once on foot, is seldom limited to the accomplishment of its original object; and we may venture to affirm, that nothing was ever better calculated to render popular commotion violent, and to push it beyond its natural bounds, than the hatred and revenge which it would seem to be the object of the print above-mentioned to excite in the minds of the people.

The country paper-money makers are not, as we shall soon see, any more to blame than are the paper-money makers in town. Paper-money making is a trade, or calling, perfectly innocent in itself, and the tradesmen may be very moral and even very liberal men. Amongst them, as amongst men of other trades, there are, doubtless, sharpers and even rogues, and the trade itself may be one that exposes men to the temptation of becoming roguish; but it does not follow, that *all* the paper-money makers, or that the paper-money makers *in general*, are men of dishonest

views. It is, therefore, not only illiberal, but unjust in the extreme, to condemn the whole of the trade in a lump, to call their wares "*destructive assignats, vile rags, dirty rags,*" and the like, whence it is, of course, intended that it should be understood that all the issuers of them ought to be regarded as pests of society, and treated accordingly; when the truth is, as we shall presently see, the fault is not in individuals, but in the system.

Having thus endeavoured to put you upon your guard against the tendency of this very unjust representation of our country bankers, and their money, an endeavour which, it appeared to me, ought not to be delayed, we will now proceed with our subject, and, as was proposed at the close of the last Letter, inquire into the *progress* of the funds or stocks; or, in more proper terms, into the INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

We have before seen what is the *nature* of this debt: we have also seen *how it began*: we shall, by-and-by, have to show the *effects* of it: but what we have to do, at present, is to inquire into, and ascertain, how it has gone on increasing, and what is now its amount. We shall next inquire into the schemes for *lessening* the debt; and then we shall distinguish what is called redeemed from unredeemed debt; but, first of all, let us leave all other views of it aside, and confine our attention merely to the sums borrowed. We have before seen, that the money has been borrowed in various ways, or under various denominations. In some cases the money borrowed was to yield the lender 3 per centum, that is to say, 3 pounds interest, yearly, for every hundred pounds of principal. In some cases the lender was to receive 4 per centum; in some cases 5 per centum; and in some cases more. Hence comes the denomination of 3 *per cents.* and 4 *per cents.*, and so forth. But, to the people, who have to pay the interest, these distinctions are of no consequence at all, any more than it would be to either of us, whether our bakers' bills were made out upon brown paper or upon white. We shall see

afterwards what we have to pay yearly in the shape of *interest*, which is the thing that touches us home; but, let us first see what the principal is, and *how it has gone on increasing*; bearing in mind, that, as was shown in the foregoing Letter, the borrowing, and, of course, the debt, began in the year 1692, in the reign of William the Third, and that the loan made in that year amounted to one million of pounds.

When QUEEN ANNE, who succeeded William, came to the throne, which was in the year 1701, the debt was £16,394,702
 When GEORGE I. came to the throne, in 1714, it was..... 54,145,363
 When GEORGE II. came to the throne, in 1727, it was..... 52,092,235
 When GEORGE III. came to the throne, in 1760, it was..... 146,682,844
 After the AMERICAN WAR, in 1784, it was 257,213,043
 At the latter END OF THE LAST WAR; that is to say, the first war against the French revolutionists, and which, for the sake of having a distinctive appellation, we will call the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR; at the end of that war, in 1801, the debt was 579,931,447
 At the PRESENT TIME, or rather in January last..... 811,898,082

That is to say, *eight hundred and eleven millions, eight hundred and ninety-eight thousand, and eighty-two*; and these in *pounds*, in English pounds, too! There are in the accounts laid before the Parliament (from which the last-mentioned sum is taken some *shillings* and *pence* and even *FARTHING*s, in addition; but though these accountants have been so nice, we will not mind a few farthings. Part of this debt is what is called *funded*, and a part *unfunded*; part is called Irish debt, part Emperor of Germany's debt, and another part the Prince Regent of Portugal's. But *interest upon the whole of it is payable in England*; and that is all that we have to look after; it being of no consequence to us what the thing is called, *so that we have to pay for it*. So that we are taxed to pay the interest of it, what matters it to us what names the several parts of it may go by? I hope that there is not, at this day, a man amongst you, who is to be amused

with empty sounds: I hope that your minds are not, now-a-days, after all that you have seen, to be led away from the object before you by any repetition of mere names. *So long as we are taxed to pay the interest upon the Debt*, that man must be exceedingly weak who is to be made to believe, that it is of any consequence to any of us by what name that debt is called.*

Such, then, has been the *progress* of the national debt; and, it is well worthy of our attention, that it has increased *in an increasing proportion*. It is now nearly *six times* as great as it was when the present king came to the throne; and which ought to be well attended to, *more than two thirds of the whole of the debt* has been contracted in carrying on against the French that war, which, at its commencement, was to succeed by means of *ruining the finances of France*. When the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR began, in 1793, the debt was, at the utmost, 257,213,043*l*. It is now 811,898,082*l*. Such has, thus far, been the financial effect; such has been the effect, as to money matters, of the wars against the Jacobins. How many times were we told, that it required but *one* more campaign; *one* more; only *one* more *vigorous* campaign, to put an end to the war; to destroy, to annihilate, for ever, the *resources* of France. Alas! those resources have not been destroyed. They have increased in a fearful degree; while we have accumulated hundreds of millions of debt in the attempt. How many writers have flattered us, from time to time, with the hope, nay, the certainty, (if we could but persevere,) of triumphing over the French by the means of our *riches*! To how many of these deceivers have we been so foolish as to listen! It is this credulity which has led to the present state of things; and, unless we shake it off at once, and resolve to look our dangers in the face, we shall, I greatly fear, experience that fate which our deceivers told us would be experienced by our enemy. *Prrr*, it is well known, grew into favour with

* There is, besides the above, the INDIA DEBT; but of that we will speak another time.

the nation, in consequence of his promises and his plans to pay off the national debt; and, this same PITT, who found that debt 257 millions, left it upwards of 600 millions, after having, for twenty years, had the full power of managing all the resources of the nation; after having, for nearly the whole of that time, had the support of three fourths, if not more, of the members of the House of Commons; after having, of course, adopted whatever measures he thought proper, during the whole of that time. He found the debt *two hundred and fifty odd millions*, and he left it *six hundred and fifty odd*. This was what was done for England by that PITT whose own *private debts* the people had to pay, besides the expense of a *monument* to his memory! This is what every man in England should bear constantly in mind.

Having now seen *how the national debt has increased*, let us next see how the EXPENSES of the nation have increased; and then take a look at the increase of the TAXES; for, in order to be able to form a correct opinion upon the main points, touched upon by the bullion committee, we must have a full view, not only of the *debt* but of the *expenses* and the *taxes* of the nation.

When QUEEN ANNE came to the throne, in 1701, the whole expenses of the year, including the interest on the National Debt, amounted to £5,610,987. Peace

When GEORGE I. came to the throne, in 1714, and just after Queen Anne had been at war eleven years 6,633,581. Peace

When GEORGE II. came to the throne, in 1727 5,441,248. Peace

When GEORGE III. came to the throne in 1760 24,456,940. War

After the end of the AMERICAN WAR, and at the beginning of PITT's administration, in 1784 21,657,609. Peace

At the latter end of the last, or ANTI-JACOBIN WAR, in 1801 61,278,018. War

For the last year, that is, the year 1809 82,027,288 5s. 14d. War.

Now, without any thing more than this, let me ask any of you, to whom I address this letter, whether you think it

possible for the thing *to go on in this way for any great length of time?* If the subject did not present so many considerations to make us serious, it would be quite impossible to refrain from laughing at the scrupulousness that could put *five shillings and a penny three farthings* at the end of a sum of millions, that it almost makes one's head swim but to think of. Laughable, however, as we may think it, those who have such accounts made out, think it no laughing matter. It is, on the contrary, looked upon by them, perhaps, as no very unimportant part of the system.

Upon looking at the above progress of the expenditure, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the increase, *during the present reign*. The year 1760 was a time of war as well as the present; but, as we see, a year of war then cost only 24 millions; whereas a year of war now costs 82 millions. We see, too, that a year of war now costs 20 millions more than a year of war cost only ten years ago. What, then, will be the cost, if this war should continue many years longer, and if, as appearances threaten, the enemy should take such measures, and adopt such a change in his mode of hostility, as to add greatly to the expensiveness of our defence? This is a very material consideration; and, though it will hereafter be taken up, still I could not refrain from just touching upon it in this place. Am I told, that *our money is depreciated or fallen off in value*; and that the increase in our expenses is more *nominal* than real; that the increase is in name; merely in the figures, and not in the thing; for that a pound is not worth any thing like what a pound was worth when the king came to the throne? Am I told this? If I am, I say, that we are not yet come to the proper place for discussing matters of this sort; that we shall come to it all in good time; but, that, in the meanwhile, I may hope to hear no more abuse of our doctrines, from those, at least, who, in this way, would reconcile our minds to the enormous increase in the nation's yearly expenses.

Having now taken a view of the in-

crease of the *debt*, and also of the yearly *expenses* of the nation, let us now see how the *revenue*, or *income*, or, more properly speaking, the **TAXES**; that is to say, the money received from the people, in the course of the year, by the several sorts of tax-gatherers; let us now see how the amount of these has gone on increasing.

When QUEEN ANNE came to the throne, in 1701, the yearly amount of the taxes was.....	£4,212,358
When GEORGE I. came to the throne in 1714, it was.....	6,762,643
When GEORGE II. came to the throne in 1727, it was.....	6,522,540
When GEORGE III. came to the throne in 1760, it was.....	8,744,682
After the AMERICAN WAR, 1784, it was.....	13,300,921
At the close of the Anti-Jacobin War, 1801, it was.....	36,728,971
For the last year, that is 1809, it was.....	70,240,226

It is quite useless to offer any comments upon this. The figures speak too plainly for themselves to receive any assistance from words. As to the *correctness* of these statements, there may, perhaps, be found some little inaccuracies in the copying of the figures, and in adding some of the sums together; but, these must be very immaterial; and, indeed, none of the questions, which we have to discuss, can possibly be affected by any little error of this sort. I say this in order to bar any cavil that may, possibly, be attempted to be raised out of circumstances, such as I have here mentioned.

Thus, then, we have pretty fairly before us, a view of the increase of the *Debts*, the *Expenses*, and the *Taxes*, of the nation; and a view it is quite sufficient to impress with serious thoughts every man, whose regard for his country is not confined to mere professions. There are persons, I know, who laugh at this. *They* may have reason to laugh; but *we* have not. The pretence is, that taxes *return again* to those who pay them. Return again! In what manner do they return? Can any of you perceive the taxes that you pay coming back again to you? All the interested persons who have written upon taxation,

have endeavoured to persuade the people, that, to load them with taxes does them no harm at all, though this is in direct opposition to the language of every speech that the King makes to the Parliament during every war; for, in every such speech, he expresses his deep *sorrow*, that he is compelled to lay new burdens upon his people.

The writers here alluded to, the greater part of whom live, or have a design to live, upon the taxes, always appear to consider the nation as being *rich* and *prosperous* in a direct proportion to the *quantity of taxes* that is raised upon it; never seeming to take into their views of riches and prosperity the *ease* and *comfort* of the people who pay those taxes. The notion of these persons seems to be, that, as there always will be more food raised, and more goods made in the country, than are sufficient for those who own, and who till the soil, and who labour in other ways, that the surplus, or superabundance, ought to fall to *their* share; or, at least, that it ought to be *taken away in taxes*, which produce a luxurious way of living, and luxury gives *employment* to the people; that is to say, that it sets them to work *to earn their own money back again*. This is a mighty favour to be sure!

The tendency of taxation is, to create a class of persons who do not labour; to take from those who do labour, the produce of that labour, and to give it to those who do not labour. The produce taken away is, in this case, totally *destroyed*; but, if it were expended, or consumed, amongst those who labour, it would produce something in its stead. There would be more, or better cloth; more or better houses; and these would be more generally distributed; while the growth of vice, which idleness always engenders and fosters, would be prevented.

If, by the gripe of taxation, every grain of the surplus produce of a country be taken from the lowest class of those who labour, they will have the means of *bare existence* left. Of course, their clothing and their dwellings will become miserable, their food bad, or in stinted

quantity; that surplus produce which should go to the making of an addition to their meal, and to the creating of things for their use, will be *annihilated* by those who do nothing but eat. Suppose, for instance, a community to consist of a farmer, four cottagers, a tailor, a shoemaker, a smith, a carpenter, and a mason, and that the land produces enough for them all and no more. Suppose this little community to be seized with a desire to imitate their betters, and to keep a sinecure placeman, giving him a tenth of their produce which they formerly gave to their shoemaker. The consequence would be, that poor CRISPIN would die, and they would go barefooted, with the consolation of reflecting that they had brought themselves into this state from the silly vanity of keeping an idle man. But suppose the land to yield enough food for all ten of them, and enough for two more besides. They have this, then, besides what is absolutely necessary to supply their wants. They can spare one of their men from the field, and have besides, food enough to keep him in some other situation. Now, which is best, to make him a second carpenter, who, in return for his food, would give them additional and permanent convenience and comfort in their dwellings; or, to make him a sinecure placeman or a singer, in either of which places he would be an annihilator of corn, at the same time that, in case of emergency, he would not be half so able to defend the community. Suppose *two* of the cultivators became sinecure placemen, then you kill the carpenter or some one else; or, what is more likely, all the labouring part of the community, that is to say, all but the sinecure placemen, live more miserably in dress, in dwellings, and in food. This reasoning applied to *tens*, applies equally well to *millions*, the causes and effects being, in the latter case, only a little more difficult to trace.

Such is the way in which *taxes* operate; the distinction between which operation and the operation of *rents* being this, that in the latter case, you receive something of which you have

the particular enjoyment for what you give; and, in the former case, you receive nothing. It is by no means to be understood, that there should be no persons to live without what is generally called labour. Physicians, parsons, lawyers, and others of the higher callings in life, do, in fact, labour; and it is right that there should be persons of great estate, and without any profession at all; but then, you will find that these persons *do not live upon the earnings of others*: they all of them give something in return for what they receive. Those of the learned profession give the *use of their talents and skill*; and the landlord gives the *use of his land or his houses*.

Nor ought we to look upon all taxes as so much of the fruit of our labour lost, or taken away without cause. Taxes are necessary in every community; and the man, whether he be a statesman, soldier, or sailor, who is in the service of the community, gives his services in return for that portion of the taxes which he receives. We are not talking against *taxes in general*; nor, indeed, will we stop here to inquire, whether *our taxes* at the present amount be necessary; or, *whether by other counsels they might, in great part at least, have been avoided*. These are questions which, for the present, we will wholly pass over, our object being to come at a correct opinion with regard to the *effect* of heavy taxation upon the people who have to support it, reserving for another opportunity our remarks and opinions as to the *necessity* of such taxation in our particular case.

By national *prosperity* the writers above alluded to mean something very different, indeed, from that which you and I, who have no desire to live upon the taxes, should call national prosperity. They look upon it, or, at least, they would have us look upon it, as being demonstrated in the increase of the number of chariots and of fine-dressed people in and about the purlieus of the court; whereas, reflection will not fail to teach us, that this is a demonstration of the increase of the taxes,

and nothing more. National prosperity shows itself in very different ways: in the plentiful meal, the comfortable dwelling, the decent furniture and dress, the healthy and happy countenances, and the good morals of *the labouring classes of the people*. These are the ways in which national prosperity shows itself; and whatever is not attended with these signs, is not national prosperity. Need I ask you, then, if heavy taxation be calculated to produce these effects? Have our labourers a plentiful meal of food fit for man? Do they taste meat once in a day? Are they decently clothed? Have they the means of obtaining firing? Are they and their children healthy and happy? I put these questions to you, Gentlemen, who have the means of knowing the facts, and who must, I am afraid, answer them all in the negative.

But, why need we here leave anything to conjecture, when we have the undeniable proof before us, in the accounts, laid before Parliament, of the amount of the *poor-rates*, at two different periods, and, of course, at two different stages in our taxation; namely, in the year 1784, and in the year 1803? At the former period, the taxes of the year, as we have seen above, amounted to 13,300,921*l.*; and then the poor-rates amounted to 2,105,623*l.* At the latter period, the taxes of the year (as will be seen from the official statement in *Register*, vol. iv. page 1471) amounted to 41,931,747*l.*; and the poor-rates had then risen to 5,246,506*l.* What must they, then, amount to at this day, when the year's taxes amount to upwards of 70 millions of pounds?

Here then, we have a pretty good proof, that *taxation* and *pauperism*, go hand in hand. We have seen what was produced by the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR. The taxes continued nearly the same from 1784 to 1793, the year in which PITT began that war; so that, by the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR, alone the poor-rates were augmented, in nominal amount, from 2,105,623*l.* to 5,246,506*l.*; at which we shall not be surprised, if we apply to this case the principle above illustrated

in the supposed community of ten men, where it is shown, that, by taking the produce of labour from the proprietors of it, and giving it to those who do not labour and do not give the proprietors of such produce anything in return, *poverty*, or at least, a *less degree* of ease and enjoyment, must be the consequence.

The poor-rates alone are now equal in amount to the whole of the national expenditure, including the interest of the debt when the late King came to the throne; and the charges of *managing* the taxes; that is to say, the wages, salaries, or allowances, to the *tax-gatherers* of various descriptions; the bare charge which we pay on this account, amounts to very little short of as much as the whole of the taxes amounted to when King William was crowned.

This charge; that is to say, *what we pay to the tax-gatherers*, in one shape or another, is stated in the account laid before Parliament for the last year, at 2,886,201*l.*, a sum equal to a year's wages of 92,500 labourers at *twelve shillings a week*, which may, I suppose, be looked upon as the average wages of labourers, take all the kingdom through. Is this *no evil*? Are we to be persuaded, that, to take the means of supporting 92,500 families, consisting, upon the usual computation (5 to a family), of 461,000 souls; that to take away the means of supporting all these, and giving those means to support others, whose business it is to *tax* the rest, instead of adding to the stock of the community by their labour; are we to be persuaded that this is *no evil*; and that, too, though we see the poor-rates grown from 2 millions to 5 millions in the space of 10 years? are we to be persuaded to believe this? Verily, if we are, it is a great shame for us to pretend to laugh at the Mahomedans.

Having now taken a view of the *progress* of the National Debt together with that of the national expenses and taxes; and having (by stepping a little aside for a moment) seen something of their effect upon national prosperity, we will, in the next letter, agreeably to the intention before expressed, inquire into the schemes for *arresting* this fearful pro-

gress ; or, as they are generally denominated, plans for *paying off*, or *reducing* the National *Debt* ; a subject of very great importance, because, as we must now be satisfied, the *bank-notes* have *increased with the debt*, and, of course, the reducing of the debt would, if it were accomplished, tend to the reduction of the quantity of bank-notes, by the excess of which it is, as the bullion committee have declared, that the gold coin has been driven from circulation.

I am, Gentlemen
Your faithful Friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 11th Sept. 1810.

(To be continued.)

MR. ALDERMAN SCALES AND DR. LUSHINGTON.

To the Editor of the Times.

The Scripture says, "If you bray a fool in a mortar, he will be a fool still."

44, Aldgate, 6th Oct., 1832.

SIR,—In your paper of this day, you think to screen your protégé, Dr Lushington, from his public disgrace, by publishing a real or a sham letter from a Mr. Smith, Hackney-road, the whole of which letter is false, beginning, middle, and end. Not one of the persons you have named were there, nor one person or friend from my ward ; nor did I get up any previous meeting ; nor did I speak to a single person, or request even one friend or neighbour to go to the meeting. I went alone, but returned with one thousand friends. I heard of the meeting accidentally on that afternoon, and the gentleman who told me of it was Mr. R. Little, Wine-merchant, No. 4, Somerset-place, Commercial-road, who said I should not be heard if I went, as it was little better than a hole-and-corner meeting of the Doctor's friends, which literally was the case. So much for the value of information furnished by the first journal in Europe. Bah !! The first journal is truth : the worst journal is falsehood. You know, at the same time, that I am no more a butcher now, than your master, Walter, is now a printers' tinker. That day will never arrive when I shall be ashamed of having been a butcher. I never was, nor ever shall be, like you, one of Midas's jackalls.

If you and Dr. Lushington are so ignorant as not to know that my friends reside in every part of the Tower Hamlets, then you must

remain as you are ; I will not take the trouble to bray you in a mortar.

When I have unfolded your ecclesiastical friend, the electors of the Tower Hamlets will bray both you and him whom you are attempting to shield, by falsehood, from the merited indignation and contempt of an enlightened public.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

P. S. I expect to receive this from you, by order of your master Midas, with a polite message as before, "Sir, your letter is an advertisement, price fifteen guineas ; otherwise it cannot appear."

44, Aldgate, 6th Oct., 1832.

SIR,—After your treatment of me when I was before the Court of Aldermen—when you published their string of disgusting charges against me—when I could not, by any possibility, answer them—and when I wrote to you, complaining of your villany and injustice in publishing such an *ex-parte* statement, you refused even to insert my letter, because it was more condemnatory of your conduct than of the conduct of my accusers. When, I say, I have received such a signal, and, perhaps, irreparable injury at your hands, can I wonder that you gave such a garbled, such a partial, such a prostituted account, as to truth, of the meeting at the Court House, Whitechapel, saying your reporter could not take a note, on account of the crowd, when he had the whole of the cryer's desk to himself, and sat with as much ease and comfort as a parson does in his pulpit ?

I say that no reporter furnished the account you have published. It is your account, made by yourself, in your Promethean den, to screen Dr. Lushington from the indignation of his fellow-countrymen.

I repeat, that that report was concocted in your Pandora's box, and by yourself ; and I firmly believe there is no other political villain capable of such baseness as yourself.

Dr. Lushington looked me in the face ! did he ? No : neither he nor you dare look me in the face. I want much to be acquainted with you ! If I once can catch you out of your Plutonian cave, although you are said to be Cerberus-like, you shall have reason to know me ever after.

I have not forgotten your sneaking cowardice in producing my letter to the Court of Aldermen, "in which I threatened to horse-whip you," on purpose to create a prejudice against me.

What is any rational man to do with such an invisible thick-skinned scoundrel as you are ? A horsewhip is the mildest correction you deserve, but a hurricane that would rid the earth of such a polluted political magic lantern as your newspaper is, would be to confer a real benefit upon all civilised society.

I rejoice to know that we have such a man as Mr. Black, a writer for the public, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, with his honest heart, clear head, and brilliant abilities, which are daily devoted to the instruction of mankind. We have the editor of the *True Sun*, with his noble efforts in behalf of the people; we have the *Ballot*, with the extraordinary endowments of nature bestowed upon its editor, cultivated by art, and perfected by experience; and have we not the *Examiner*, at once the Juvenal and Calliope of the weekly press; and have we not you, whom the unthinking public patronize as the Plutus of newsmen, when, in fact, you deserve no more respect than a Thersites or a Caliban.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the book-shops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the

nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with a map, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets, and tithings, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of the county, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the English counties, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the Welsh counties,

in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a trans-

action at *Tilford*, how are we to know where *TILFORD* is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of *SURREY*; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in *SURREY*; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a *TITHING*, that it is in the parish of *FARNHAM*, and that *Farnham* is a *MARKET-TOWN*, distant therefrom in a *NW.* direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from *London*; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the *WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY*. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of *SURREY*, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from *CHERTSEY*, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of *WINDLESHAM*, and that that village is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from *CHERTSEY*; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. **FIRST**, under the name, in the *Dictionary*, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the *Dictionary*, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. **SECOND**, as the *Dictionary* part was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and

which it is now my business to describe.

IV. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*,

and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always

at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, and the number of voters which they formerly had, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. JOHNSON wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

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ASHBY, G. and T., Derby, linen-draper.
BOOTY, J., Brighthelmstone, printseller.
EARLE, J., Kingston-upon-Hull, stone-mason.
FORD, W., Birmingham, grocer.
ILESOM, T., Willoughby, Warwicksh., farmer.
LANKESTER, J. R., Woodbridge, Suffolk, brandy-merchant.
M'CALLUM, F., and A. F. Bell, Regent-street, tobaccoconists.
MOHRMAN, M., and J. Kahrs, Wentworth-street, Whitechapel, sugar-refiners.
REID, J., Sulphur Wells, Yorkshire, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GRAY, W., Kirkintilloch, manufacturer.
PATERSON, A., Glasgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

GELDARD, W., Denmark-st., Soho, currier.
LANCASHIRE, J., Draycott-field, Derbyshire, miller.
YOUNG, G., Arundel, Sussex, innkeeper.

BANKRUPTS.

AGAR, W. jun., York, currier.
BECKENSALL, J., Oxford-street, wine and brandy-merchant.
BLEW, J., Worcester, druggist.
GREGORY, G., Repton, Derbysh., coalmaster.
HANDFORD, J., Sutton, victualler.
OWEN, J., Little Bell-alley, City, bookseller.
PARK, J. sen., Croston, Lancashire, draper.
THOMSON, J., Liverpool, merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JOHNSTON, J., J. Wilson, and T. Goodwin, Helensburgh, grocers.
THOMSON, W., Airdrie, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 8.—We had a good supply of wheat this morning from Kent, but from Essex and Suffolk the quantity was much less than for several weeks past, and having had a great deal of rain during the last four days to enable those mills to get to work which had previously been

stopped for the want of water, there was a brisker demand for new wheat, and nearly the whole of what appeared was readily disposed of, on full as good terms as on this day se'nighit for the general runs from the above counties, and an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per qr. was obtained for a few picked samples of very superior quality.

There was a good supply of barley from Essex and Kent, but very little of fine malting quality; such as the maltsters selected sold at from 32s. to 36s., and the inferior sorts were heavy sale at from 24s. to 28s.; of the latter description some quantity remained on hand at the close of the market. White peas are from 3s. to 4s. per qr. cheaper, having a considerable quantity fresh in to-day, of which only a small proportion was disposed of. New beans and grey peas are 2s. per qr. lower, and went off slowly at that decline. Oats supported the terms of last Monday, but the trade was exceedingly heavy. In other articles no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	20s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 76s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Waterford ... 76s. to 80s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... 48s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 42s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 80s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 8.

In this day's market, which, though with considerably fewer beasts than that of this day se'nighit, was, throughout, tolerably well supplied, the trade, with each kind of prime small meat, was somewhat brisk; with the larger and coarser kinds, and that of middling and inferior quality, very dull, at but little, if any, variation from Friday's quotations. About a third of the beasts were Irish, principally steers and heifers, for the most part

from Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire; another third about equal numbers of short horns, Welch runts, and Herefords, from the same districts, except some of the latter coming from Buckinghamshire, and, we believe, Worcestershire; the remainder, about equal numbers of Devons, principally from the western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Scots, Staffords, &c. About two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were Leicester and Hereford half-breds; about a sixth South Down; the remaining sixth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters, and Lincoln, with a few horned Dorsets, Welch, and Aberdeeners.

Beasts, 2,800; sheep and lambs, 21,810; calves, 146; pigs, 220.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 12.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices rather higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	84½ 84½ 84½ 84½ 84½ 84½

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

BEg to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats	16	0	
Figured ditto ditto	18	0	
Valencia ditto	12	0	
Barogau Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.